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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the relationship between sexual harassment and participation in "manly" sports (i.e., football, baseball, basketball, soccer, and wrestling) at the high school level. Manly sports are defined as those sports that celebrate values of dominance, aggression, male solidarity, and female exclusion. Participants were 353 11th- and 12th-grade boys in a suburban school district. A survey was developed to measure students' sex-role stereotyping and adversarial attitudes, sexually harassing behaviors, sports participation, and perceptions of sports affiliation of peer sexual harassers. Results revealed a positive correlation between the attitude and behavior factors. Boys who expressed sexist attitudes were also the ones who reported more frequent engagement in sexually harassing behavior toward girls. Analysis indicates that all boys believed that a sexual harasser was more than likely to be a member of a manly sports team than to be a nonathlete or a member of any of the other available high school sports teams. However, no meaningful relationship was found between either attitude or behavior and sports participation. (Contains 43 references.) (RJM)

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Sexual Harassment and Manly Sports: Are They Related?

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the Northeastern Educational Research Association,

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Abstract

This study investigated the relationship between those attitudes and behaviors considered part and parcel of sexual harassment and manly sports participation at the high school level. Participants were 353 eleventh and twelfth grade boys at a suburban Long Island School District. A survey was developed to measure students' sex-role stereotyping and adversarial attitudes, sexually harassing behaviors, sports participation, and perceptions of sports affiliation of peer sexual harassers.

Canonical correlation analyses were conducted to explore the relationships among attitude and behavior factors and sports participation. A multiple response analysis was performed to assess the perception of the team affiliation of the hypothetical male harasser.

Results revealed a positive correlation between the attitude and behavior factors. Those boys who expressed sexist attitudes are also the ones who reported more frequent engagement in sexually harassing behavior toward girls. Additionally, the multiple response analysis indicates overwhelmingly that the boys themselves believed that a sexual harasser was more than likely to be a member of a manly sports team than to be a nonathlete or a member of any of the other available high school sports teams.

No meaningful relationship was found between either attitude or behavior and sports participation. These and other findings are discussed in the context of the existing literature. Suggestions for future research are included.

Sexual Harassment and Manly Sports: Are They Related?

Sexual harassment in an educational environment is illegal, expensive, and wrong, and the impact on its target can be tremendous. Findings of the Louis Harris Hostile Hallways survey (AAUW, 1993) indicate that 81% of all students report that they have been the target of some form of sexual harassment during their school lives, and that five times as many girls as boys are afraid in school because of sexual harassment. There has been some research on the issue of who gets harassed, results indicating that it is primarily females (AAUW, 1993; Strauss, 1993). However, very little research has been done thus far on who harasses.

Although there appears to be no "typical harasser," there has been some research to suggest that male athletes are more likely to engage in sexually aggressive behaviors (sexual harassment, assault, rape) than their male counterparts who are not involved in athletics (Benedict, 1995; Koss & Gaines, 1993; O'Sullivan, 1991; Sandler, 1990). Sexual harassment is about power (AAUW, 1993; Educator's Guide, 1993; Strauss, 1993) and manly sports, in particular, constitute a haven for males to achieve that power (Brittan, 1989; Messner, 1987a, 1987b, 1990a, 1990b; Naison, 1980; Nelson, 1994; Sabo & Runfola, 1980). "Manly" sports are those that celebrate the traditional "male" values of dominance, aggression, male solidarity, and the exclusion of females (Nelson, 1994). Examples of such sports are baseball, basketball, football, lacrosse, soccer, and wrestling. Manly sports athletes experience a unique socialization process. The high status afforded to these athletes, and the power obtained from inclusion in their friendship groups (Eder & Parker, 1987) contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance for sexual harassment. The most valued traits in the manly sports world are aggression and dominance (Connell, 1990; Eder & Parker, 1987; MacKinnon, 1987; Messner, 1990a). While the boys are

being rewarded for these qualities they are also learning male solidarity and superiority, and to exclude females from this private club (Craib, 1987; Fine, 1987; Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1990a; Murphy, 1984; Sabo, 1994a, 1994b). Manly sports constitute a culture that promotes male bonding, violence, and often the denigration of females. The bonds that develop among these male athletes are often based on the devaluation of females (Curry, 1991; Fine, 1987; Foley, 1990; Kantor & Strauss, 1987; Telander, 1989) and masculinity becomes synonymous with "not feminine" (Craib, 1987, p. 721). Mariah Burton Nelson, in her 1994 book, The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football, suggests that by creating a world where "masculinity is equated with violence, where male bonding is based on the illusion of male supremacy, and where all of the visible women are cheerleaders, manly sports set the stage for violence against women" (p. 7). Manly sports promote and maintain sexist role stereotyping, considered by experts to be a source of sexual harassment (Strauss, 1993; Educator's Guide, 1993). Our boys are expected to be macho, in control, dominant, and aggressive, the most valued qualities of "masculinity."

It seems reasonable to expect that boys who are socialized in a culture that promotes these manly sports values would be more apt to sexually harass girls than other boys. This connection has been suggested by others (Nelson, 1994; Sanday, 1990; Sandler, 1990), but most of what is written is anecdotal and very little is based on empirical research. The limited literature available only explores connections between sexual assault or rape and post high school athletes. What the literature has not yet examined is the relationship between sexual harassment and manly sports at the high school level.

Historically, females have been denied access, both as participants and as naturalistic observers, to the male organization of sports. The large majority of qualitative research on this

issue (including participant observation, interviews, and essays) has been authored by males. Females, however, have contributed a substantial amount of the less intrusive quantitative research. The studies that explore the connection between sports and sexual aggression have been conducted both formally and informally, and in a variety of universities across the United States. Most of this quantitative data, and numerous anecdotes and expert opinions, support the notion of higher levels of sexual aggression in manly sports, although there are some exceptions.

Mary Koss and John Gaines (1993), in a study of 530 undergraduate men, found a link between athletic participation and sexual aggression. They concluded that football and basketball players were more likely to participate in sexually aggressive behaviors than all other male college students. However, this was a prediction analysis which prohibits conclusions about causality and their study involved only one campus, so they were reluctant to make sweeping generalizations.

Researcher Neil Malamuth (1986) studied predictor factors pertaining to males' self-reported sexual aggression against women. The subjects were 155 males. A multiple regression analysis revealed that hostility toward women and the desire to dominate them, both integral components of manly sports, are among the predictors of men's sexual aggression.

Chris O'Sullivan (1991), a female psychologist from Bucknell University, analyzed 24 documented gang rapes from campuses around the United States from 1980-1990 and found that a large majority were perpetrated by fraternity brothers and varsity athletes. Thirteen (54.2%) were perpetrated by fraternity members, four (16.6%) by varsity players, four (16.6%) by football players, and one (4.2%) by lacrosse players. That is a total of nine gang rapes, or 32.5% committed by manly sports team members. Only two (8.3%) were committed by men not belonging to a formal male organization. O'Sullivan contends that the cohesive nature of these

groups is a cause of such behavior.

In 1985, Julie Ehrhart and Bernice Sandler of the Center for Women Policy Studies (personal communication, April 12, 1996) found that of 50 reported group rape incidents occurring during a two year period at a university, 30% involved male athletes although male athletes accounted for a much smaller percentage of the male student population. Sandler also examined 150 sexual assaults on college campuses and concluded that athletes and members of fraternities are more likely than any other group to commit gang rape. Specifically, it is those players from contact team sports such as football, basketball, lacrosse and ice hockey who were most often the perpetrators.

In a similar study, Todd Crosset, Jeffrey Benedict, and Mark McDonald (1995) used a t-test to examine the relationship between collegiate athletic participation and reported sexual assaults at 30 Division I institutions across the United States. In 20 of these institutions data were collected from official campus police records that were mandated for public access. For the most part, official campus police reports are filed only if the victim intends to pursue justice through the state courts. The remaining 10 institutions used judicial affairs offices to collect information on campus crime, allowing victims to maintain their privacy while at the same time meting out discipline in a timely manner. Crosset et al. found that male student-athletes were over-represented as perpetrators of sexual assaults when compared with the rest of the male population, although the difference is only significant when looking at those incidents reported to judicial affairs. The contrast is not significant in those assaults reported to campus police. The study used official reports as opposed to self-reports, and is therefore not a representative sample of the actual number of sexual assaults committed on college campuses, presumed to be a much

higher number. These researchers also compared football and basketball players to all other student-athletes, using the judicial affairs data, and found that although football and basketball players comprised only 30% of the student-athlete population, they accounted for 67% of the reported sexual assaults.

Researchers from Maryland's Towson State University's Campus Violence Prevention Center used a self-report survey to study the relationship among alcohol, drugs and crime (Bausell, Bausell, & Siegel, 1991). Fourteen thousand undergraduates were randomly selected from colleges across the United States. They found that athletes who drink heavily (five or more drinks at a time) are five times more likely to be sexual offenders than nonathletes who drink heavily. The athlete who uses drugs was found to be the most likely repeat sex offender (Siegel, personal communication, April 11, 1996).

While most studies and anecdotes support the connection between male athletics and sexually aggressive behavior (Koss & Gaines, 1993; O'Sullivan, 1991; Sandler, 1990; Toufexis, 1990), there are those who would oppose this viewpoint. They suggest that it is the high profile of these athletes that draws attention to incidents that might otherwise go unnoticed. What is noteworthy, if not surprising however, is that the sources of this defense seem to be those whose livelihood depends on the popularity of these sports, not an unbiased group.

In 1991 Tom Jackson, a psychology professor at the University of Arkansas, administered the Koss Sexual Experience Survey at a large southern university and concluded that the frequency of sexual assault by athletes was comparable to the national norm for nonathletes. However, the study was not a direct comparison with nonathletes from the same university, but was compared with data from a previous national investigation of nonathlete male samples.

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between sexual harassment and manly sports participation in eleventh and twelfth grade. Our interest was in the behaviors and attitudes associated with sexual harassment. The primary question guiding the research was: Are those eleventh and twelfth grade boys who participate in manly sports more apt to exhibit those kinds of behaviors and attitudes considered part and parcel of sexual harassment than nonathlete boys or boys who participate in other sports?

Method

The site was a suburban high school in a residential community on the north shore of Long Island. It was a three year coed public high school, grades 10 through 12, enrolling between 1500 and 1600 students each year. The district was 92% white (State Education Department, 1995) with fewer than 2% of the students from below the poverty level (SUNY, 1995).

The district espoused a philosophy of participation in the sports program. An emphasis was placed on involving large numbers of students rather than stacking teams to achieve championships. The program was broad-based with a wide range of activities offered. The most successful in terms of recognition was the boys' lacrosse team, which received national attention and was widely recognized from the east coast to the Midwest. The soccer, baseball, and football teams were very competitive, although somewhat overshadowed by the prominence of the lacrosse team.

The study was confined to the 233 eleventh and 241 twelfth graders, a limited age group. A survey was deemed to be the best way to explore the relationships among sports, sex-role stereotyping attitudes, adversarial sexual attitudes, and sexual harassment. An extensive review of related literature revealed a lack of instrumentation appropriate for this endeavor. Hence, the

additional task of developing a valid and reliable instrument with which to measure the variables of interest was undertaken. This questionnaire consists of Likert-type items adapted from the Burt (1980) questionnaire on beliefs that could increase the likelihood of sexual violence, the Minnesota Department of Education's (Strauss, 1988) informal surveys on sexual harassment, and Stovall and Teddlie's (1993) guide to bias-free career planning. Original questions were also created. The instrument is divided into four main sections: attitudes, behavior, sports participation, and perception about sports participation of male harasser.

The attitudinal items asked respondents to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with various statements relating to sexual stereotypes, adversarial beliefs about females, and friendships with girls. Choices of responses for these items range from Very Strongly Disagree to Very Strongly Agree.

The behavioral items asked respondents to indicate their frequency of participation in specific behaviors. For the most part the behaviors were considered sexual harassment. However, four items addressed the frequency of healthy platonic interactions with girls. All of these items used a 5 point rating scale with 1 indicating Never and 5 indicating Often.

Respondents were also requested to indicate their participation in each of the fourteen available high school sports. In addition, they were asked to indicate type of participation (informal, league, and/or school) and number of years of school participation in each sport.

An additional question tapping the male high school students' perceptions about the kind of boy that would be most likely to harass a female student was included in the survey. For more information, including a copy of the survey, see Murolo, 1997.

Procedure

Parental permission slips were mailed to participating students' homes three weeks before the scheduled administration. Only two rejections were received. The survey was administered over a two day period in physical education classes. Booklets were distributed and brief instructions were given to the students. Emphasis was put on the anonymity of the respondents and the importance of honesty in responding. The questionnaire took approximately 30 minutes to complete. Completed surveys were collected by a designated classmate or placed in an envelope.

Surveys were administered to the 353 eleventh and twelfth grade boys who were in attendance on those days. However, four were dropped from the study, two for omitting more than 50% of the responses, two for circling the same response code for all items, even on reverse scored items. It was assumed that these students did not take the survey seriously and that, therefore, their responses would not accurately reflect their attitudes. Therefore, the final sample size was 349, 71.5% of the 474 possible respondents.

Factor Analyses

Item missing data was less than 1.5% for each item. Some attitude items were omitted. In addition, there were some instances where the two middle choices were circled (agree and disagree). It appeared that those were due to indecision or ambiguity. This was reinforced by comments made by eight individual boys. The decision was made to recode these responses to reflect a middle position, resulting in a 7 point Likert scale.

Attitude Items

In order to examine the underlying structure of the 43 attitude items an iterated principal axis common factor analysis was conducted. Squared multiple correlations were used as initial estimates of communality. The unit of analysis was the student, with item responses constituting

the data input. An investigation of the initial eigenvalues of the reduced matrix and their corresponding estimated proportions of variance accounted for revealed that the first factor accounted for 57% of the common factor variance, the second provided an additional 12%, the third an additional 7%, and the fourth an additional 6%. The three-factor oblique solution was found to be most interpretable and was therefore retained as the final solution. Loadings $\geq |.4|$ were considered meaningful for factor interpretation and subsequent selection of items for subscales. Items that did not load on any factor were dropped. Additionally, items that loaded on more than one factor were considered factorially complex and were also not included. A number of items were reverse-scored because the statements were presented so that the higher the number, the more positive a response (i.e., the less sexist or adversarial the attitude).

Twenty-two of the 43 attitude items divided into three very clear, distinct factors. The first of these factors deals with sex-role stereotyping (e.g., "women can make effective business leaders," "a boy who cries is weak") and the second deals with adversarial beliefs (e.g., "most girls are sly and manipulating when out to attract a boy," "many times girls flirt with boys just to tease or hurt them"). The third factor, consisting of only two items, addresses friendships with girls ("it is just as easy for boys to develop close friends who are girls as close friends who are boys" and "I have just as many close friends who are girls as close friends who are boys"). Reliability estimates using coefficient alpha were .87 for the Sex-Role factor and .78 for the Adversarial factor. The Friend factor was less reliable at .63, probably because it contained only two items.

Behavior Items

The behavior items were also subjected to an iterated principal axis common factor

analysis. An examination of the initial eigenvalues of the reduced matrix and their corresponding estimated proportions of variance accounted for revealed that the first factor accounted for 73% of the common factor variance, the second provided an additional 20%, the third an additional 11%, and the fourth an additional 5%. The three- factor oblique solution, comprising eighteen of the nineteen behavior items, was found to be the most interpretable and was therefore retained as the final solution. Again, loadings $\geq |.4|$ were considered meaningful for factor interpretation and subsequent selection of items for subscales. The three factors are Sexual Harassment 1 (e.g., "sexual teasing or flirting," "making sexual comments about their [girls'] clothes"), Sexual Harassment 2 (e.g., "making obscene or sexual 'prank' phone calls," "spreading sexual rumors"), and Platonic (e.g., "asking for help with an assignment," "calling a girl at home to ask about a class assignment"). The reliabilities for the behavior factors were: .90 for Sexual Harassment 1; .70 for Platonic; and .73 for Sexual Harassment 2.

Results

All tests of significance used $\alpha = .05$. In order to be considered meaningful, significant results had to account for a minimum of 10% of the variance.

Descriptive Statistics

Attitude Scales

Scoring for the three factor-based attitude scales consisted of averaging the items that loaded on each factor; each score could range from 1 to 7. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for the resulting attitude scales. An examination of the numbers suggests that the boys were more adversarial than stereotypical in sex-role beliefs, yet neither of these attitude means fell in the extreme ends of the scale. Friend, however, was more positive than either

Adversarial or Sex-Role, but had a greater diversity.

Behavior Scales

Scoring for the three factor-based behavior scales consisted of averaging the items that loaded on each factor, thus generating three scale scores for each student; each score could range from 1 to 5. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for these behavior factors, and reveals that the most negative and serious of the sexually harassing behaviors were engaged in less frequently and by fewer students than the less severe kinds of harassment listed. Platonic had the highest mean as well as the most deviation.

The six sports with the highest level of school participation were those that have been defined as manly sports, ranging from 16.0% (lacrosse and wrestling) to 24.7% (football). Nonmanly sports school participation ranged from 2.0% (golf and bowling) to 13.7% (track). The manly sports also had the most league participation, with the exception of wrestling, which ranked seventh. Manly sports league participation ranged from 6.4% (wrestling) to 24.7% (baseball). The nonmanly sports league participation ranged from 2.4% (golf) to 7.9% (tennis). No notable pattern was revealed in the rate of informal participation in these fourteen sports.

Of the 344 students who responded to the sports participation section, 30.2% reported never having played school sports, and 4.7% reported no participation at all in any of the fourteen available sports, either outside or school participation.

Canonical Correlations

Canonical correlation was used to examine relationships among the different subsets of variables. Three separate canonical correlations were performed to explore the relationships among the attitude factors and sports participation, among the behavior factors and sports

participation, and among the attitude and behavior factors. Sports participation was initially dichotomized into manly vs. others, and then categorized into manly athletes, nonmanly athletes, and nonathletes. The MANOVA procedure was used to determine whether there were significant differences on the attitude or behavior scales that could be attributed to group membership.

Attitude Factors and Sports Participation

An initial categorization of the boys into those who participated in manly sports and those who did not participate in manly sports was done. Using this conceptualization of sports participation, a MANOVA was conducted on the three attitudinal factors. No significant differences between manly sports participants and other boys were revealed. It was then felt that this might be an overly simplistic representation of sports participation. Therefore, degree of participation in the sports was taken into account. Hence, for each of the 14 sports listed, a scale of 0 to 7 was constructed to reflect the degree of participation in that particular sport. The scale was assumed to be a continuous portrayal of total participation in each sport. This assumption was based upon input from three high school coaches who expressed the opinion that school participation in a sport is a much greater contribution to a student's identity than outside league participation, and that league participation has at least twice as much of an effect as informal participation. The decision to use 4 as a weighting for school participation was guided by the assumption that the contribution of school participation is even greater than that of informal and league participation combined. Scores for each sport were weighted in the following manner: 0 indicating no participation at all in a particular sport; 1 indicating informal participation; 2 indicating participation on a non-school league; 3 indicating informal participation plus league participation (1 + 2); 4 indicating school team participation (the assumption being that

participation on a school team contributes more to a student's identity); 5 indicating informal plus school participation (1 + 4); 6 indicating league plus school participation (2 + 4); 7 indicating informal plus league plus school participation (1 + 2 + 4).

A canonical analysis exploring the relationship between the attitude factors and sports participation employed this 0 to 7 conceptualization of sports participation for each of the 14 sports listed. This canonical correlation analysis failed to yield significance and so no further discussion of this relationship is warranted.

Behavior Factors and Sports Participation

The same initial categorization of sports participation that was used for the attitude analyses (manly sports participants/others) was used to explore differences within the behavior factors. The MANOVA procedure revealed no significant differences.

Then the same 0 to 7 conceptualization of sports participation was used for a canonical correlation analysis between the behavior and sports participation factors as was used for the second attitude/sports participation analysis. The overall behavior/sports analysis yielded significance ($\Lambda = .83$; $F = 1.450$; $df = 42, 967.84$; $p < .05$). The three correlations are .306, .230, and .166. The dimension reduction analysis indicated that only the first of the three possible canonical correlations was significant ($\Lambda = .834$; $F = 1.450$; $df = 42, 967.84$; $p < .05$). However, the shared variance of 9% fell short of the required preselected criteria for meaningfulness of a minimum of 10% shared variance. This finding was deemed to be not meaningful and therefore no further discussion is warranted here.

Other Conceptualizations of Sports Participation

Because it was not clear whether by focusing on all sports an association was being

diluted, other possible appropriate conceptualizations of sport participation were explored, including simply dichotomizing manly/nonmanly sports participation, categorizing into manly athlete, nonmanly athlete, and nonathlete, and using the information on the number of years of manly sports. Also, a total manly sports participation score was computed for each student by summing the 0 to 7 scores for the six manly sports (baseball + basketball + football + lacrosse + soccer + wrestling). This variable was labeled **Total Manly Sports**. Similar results occurred as occurred with the initial way of measuring it. The conclusion is, at this point in time, that there does not appear to be, regardless of which way it is measured, a relationship between manly sports participation and sexist attitudes or sexual harassment.

Attitude and Behavior Factors

A canonical correlation was also employed to examine the connection between the sexist attitudes and the sexually harassing behaviors. The overall canonical correlation analysis of the three attitude and three behavior factors was significant ($\Lambda = .60$; $F = 21.37$; $df = 9, 830.06$; $p < .05$). The three canonical correlations are .577, .310, and .014. The dimension reduction analysis indicated that the first two of the three possible canonical correlations were significant, and these two were examined further. The first canonical correlation was meaningful, accounting for 33% of the variance. The second, however, accounted for less than 10%, the criteria selected a priori for meaningfulness. Therefore, it was not examined further. The canonical weights, structure coefficients (i.e., correlations of the original variables with the canonical variates), and squared structure coefficients associated with the first canonical correlation are presented in Table 2.

On the first canonical correlation, the linear combinations of the two sets of variables share 33% of the variability. An examination of the squared structure coefficients revealed that the

canonical variate for attitudes accounted for about 84% of the variance in Adversarial, about 36% of the variance in Sex-Role, and about 10% of the variance in Friend. On the Behavior side, the canonical variate accounted for about 100% of the variance in Sexual Harassment 1 and about 27% of the variance in Sexual Harassment 2. The Platonic factor was not seen as important. It appears, therefore that the relationship between the two sets of variables relies primarily on Adversarial and Sexual Harassment 1.

The redundancy coefficients provide additional support for these associations. The first canonical correlation revealed that 14% of the variation in Attitude is predictable from Behavior; the view from the other direction showed that 14% of the variation in Behavior is predictable from Attitude. It is merely coincidental that similar results occurred from both views as this relationship is not a symmetrical one.

Perception of Male Harasser

The students were asked to choose whether a hypothetical male sexual harasser would most likely be an athlete or a nonathlete. Of the 327 boys who responded to this question, 73.7% chose athlete as the more likely harasser. The remaining 26.3% chose nonathlete.

The 248 boys who chose athlete were posed a follow-up question about the three most likely teams (of the 14 listed) to which the male athlete sexual harasser would belong. A multiple response analysis was performed. Results are presented in Table 3 and indicate overwhelmingly that the boys themselves believed that a sexual harasser was more than likely to belong to a manly sports team than any of the other eight teams listed. Football was chosen by 91.5% of the respondents, while lacrosse was chosen by 78.2%. The six manly sports were the six most selected responses, chosen substantially more often than any of the other eight sports.

Discussion

A major finding of this study is the association between sexist attitudes and sexually harassing behaviors at the high school level. It was found that those boys who expressed sexist attitudes were also the ones who more frequently engaged in sexually harassing behavior toward girls. Moreover, in this relationship, it was the adversarial attitudes that played the most important role on the attitude side, with sex-role stereotyping beliefs contributing substantially, and friendship a small amount. On the behavior side it was the less severe behaviors contained in Sexual Harassment 1 (e.g., sexual teasing or flirting, making sexually suggestive sounds) that were the most important, with the more serious behaviors included in Sexual Harassment 2 (e.g., making obscene phone calls, spreading sexual rumors) being less important, and those behaviors comprising Platonic (e.g., asking for help with assignment, offering to explain math problem) not very important. Hence, the strongest connection was between Adversarial attitudes and Sexual Harassment 1, suggesting that those boys who maintain these adversarial beliefs toward girls are more likely than other boys to engage in the less severe forms of sexual harassment (teasing, joking, "got you but I won't get caught" kinds of behavior).

Another revealing outcome is that, overwhelmingly, those boys who participated in manly sports were perceived by their peers to be the most likely sexual harassers of girls when compared with boys who participated in nonmanly sports or nonathletes. However, this study failed to unveil a direct relationship between manly sports participation and either sexist attitudes or sexually harassing behaviors.

This lack of a direct link contradicts logical extensions of the already existing literature. Prior research of this issue on the precollege level mainly documents the promotion and

existence of traditional manly values, and those quantitative studies on the college level investigate sexually aggressive behavior of a more severe nature than the behavior of interest in this study. The abundance of qualitative and anecdotal research presented in the literature review contends, at the minimum, that in the arena of manly sports sexist attitudes are expressed and reinforced (Connell, 1990; Curry, 1991; Ehrhart & Sandler, 1992; Farr, 1988; Fine, 1987; Foley, 1990; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Malamuth, 1986; Messner, 1987a, 1987b, 1990a, 1990b; Naison, 1980; Nelson, 1994; O'Sullivan, 1991; Sabo & Runfola, 1980; Sandler, 1996; Warshaw, 1988; Whitson, 1990). This study reveals the existence of a direct positive relationship between these attitudes and sexually harassing behaviors at the high school level. Logic implies that these attitudes and behaviors would therefore be measurably associated with manly sports participation at this level. Nevertheless, a direct quantitative connection between manly sports participation and these attitudes and behaviors has not been found in this study. That does not mean, however, that there is no connection.

There are several possibilities for the failure of the present investigation to find a relationship between manly sports participation and either sexist attitudes or sexually harassing behaviors:

1. There is no relationship between manly sports participation and sexist attitudes or sexual harassment. It is possible that it is the high profile of the male athlete that draws attention to acts of sexual harassment when the proportion is really comparable to that in the general population. Nonetheless, although the popular press has been known to embellish problems, the limited research available supports the existence of one.

2. There is a relationship but it is diluted by other confounding variables. Although the

world of manly sports is very obviously an arena of masculinity, other cultural and institutional forces may have as much or more of an impact on the development of these attitudes and behaviors as does manly sports.

3. A relationship exists but the instrument developed was an inadequate device with which to measure it. It is feasible that one or both of the following design flaws occurred:

(a) The self-report retrospective method may not be the most valid and reliable and the possibility exists that the boys were responding in the socially desirable manner rather than being completely truthful (Arvey & Cavanaugh, 1995). It is also possible that the boys engaged in such behavior, and although the one year time period is considered reasonable for recall, the behavior was so meaningless to them that they simply didn't remember. Research indicates that behaviors labeled offensive by girls are often considered trivial by boys. It is difficult to determine definitively if the reported results are accurate.

(b) In retrospect, these researchers believe that the most likely reason that a connection with sports was not revealed was a design flaw in the conceptualization of sports participation. Examination of the data and discussions with high school sport staff support the contention that this district focuses on high participation rather than stacking teams to win. Kids are consistently encouraged to join teams, and many junior high teams do not cut players. In light of this, a boy's participation on a seventh or eighth grade team may be irrelevant, especially if he was simply trying out a sport but then dropped it after one season. The instrument provided no means for discrimination between years of participation in junior high or high school, a considerable design flaw.

Reinforcing the notion that a flaw in the instrumentation rather than the absence of a

connection is responsible for this outcome are the results of the final section of the survey, Perception of Male Harasser. The boys themselves believe that a boy who plays manly sports is far more likely to sexually harass a girl than a nonathlete or a boy who plays any other sport. This is a striking outcome. When viewed from this perspective, the manly sports participation/sexual harassment link is supported and consistent as a logical extension of prior research.

While it is certainly possible that the boys' responses were merely echoes of society's stereotypes, these findings more likely suggest that these boys who have been afforded direct access to the world of manly sports have inferred a more realistic portrayal of the relationship between manly sports and sexual harassment of girls at their school. The connection between manly sports participation and sexual harassment was not born out in the analyses that employed the sports participation conceptualization. However, the association, albeit at the least perceptual, is strongly substantiated in this multiple response analysis, thereby strengthening the argument that the failure to have uncovered this relationship elsewhere is due more to a design flaw in the instrumentation than to its nonexistence.

This study is the first one to explore a quantitative connection between participation in manly sports and sexual harassment at the high school level. It symbolizes a beginning, to provide direction for subsequent research. The arduous and complex task of designing an instrument may have detracted from the initial purpose of this study and clouded the primary issue. Nonetheless, until a valid and reliable tool with which to measure the variables of interest is developed, the analyses are infeasible. Toward this end, it is recommended that the focus shift to the creation of an appropriate, valid, and reliable instrument. A refinement of this study's instrument, focusing on

improving the sports participation section, is recommended. A better indicator of sports participation may be to have these boys identify themselves in terms of current athletic status, conceivably during the past year. It seems more likely that an 11th or 12th grader currently participating in a sport would have a deep commitment to and past experience in that sport th an 11th or 12th grader who played the sport only in 7th or 8th grade. Presumably, then, the sport would provide more of a contribution to his present identity. Accordingly, with these concerns in mind, an important goal for future researchers is to further develop and empirically test a survey instrument.

The speculation that the weakness of the instrument is the primary cause of the failure to unveil relationships with manly sports participation should be explored further. While this study was unable to confirm a significant contribution by manly sports participation to the prediction of attitude and sexually harassing behaviors, further study of this phenomenon with the proper instrument is warranted. Toward these ends, it is suggested that the refined survey be employed in a replication of this study at another large high school.

Simultaneously, it is important to conduct objective, focused field observations on this issue from both a traditional and feminist perspective. Interviews with present and former high school athletes could enlighten many in the educational community. Engaging in discussions with male and female coaches of boys' and girls' teams might contribute substantially to our understanding of this complex phenomenon and could plant the seed for the development of future quantitative and qualitative research.

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Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for the Three Attitude and Three Behavior Scales

	Mean	S.D.
Attitude		
Adversarial	3.85	1.00
Friend	4.47	1.46
Sex-Roles	2.78	.95
Behavior		
Sexual Harassment 1	2.21	.86
Platonic	3.14	.94
Sexual Harassment 2	1.21	.55

Table 2

Standardized and Structure Coefficients of the Attitude and Behavior Scales

	Standardized coefficients	Structure coefficients	r^2
Attitude			
Adversarial	.810	.919	.84
Friend	.378	.314	.10
Sex-Roles	.229	.598	.36
Behavior			
Sexual Harassment 1	.992	.998	1.00
Platonic	-.061	.057	.00
Sexual Harassment 2	.027	.516	.27

Table 3

Multiple Response Analysis for Perceptions of Team Affiliation of Harasser

Team	Count	% of Responses	% of Students
Football	227	32.0	91.5
Lacrosse	194	27.3	78.2
Basketball	109	15.4	44.0
Wrestling	90	12.7	36.3
Baseball	38	5.4	15.3
Soccer	13	1.8	5.2
Swimming	9	1.3	3.6
Bowling	7	1.0	2.8
Golf	6	.8	2.4
Gymnastics	6	.8	2.4
Track	4	.6	1.6
Cross Country	3	.4	1.2
Tennis	3	.4	1.2
Volleyball	1	.1	.4
Total Responses	710	100.0	286.3

Note: N = 248. (Only those who chose "athlete" were required to respond to this question.)